PC

What's Behind the Attack on Politically Correct?

Lance Selfa and Alan Maass

"Political extremists roam the land, abusing the privilege of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race. . . .The notion of 'political correctness' has ignited controversy across the land. Although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and sexism and hatred, it replaces old prejudices with new ones."

So President Bush told graduating students at the University of Michigan in May 1991. He was lending his voice to the growing right-wing chorus which attacks "political correctness."

Over the last year, the anti-PC crusade has become a centerpiece of the conservative agenda—an all-purpose front for attacking targets ranging from affirmative action to women's rights.

This pamphlet looks at what the anti-PC crusade means—and how we can fight the assault on "political correctness."

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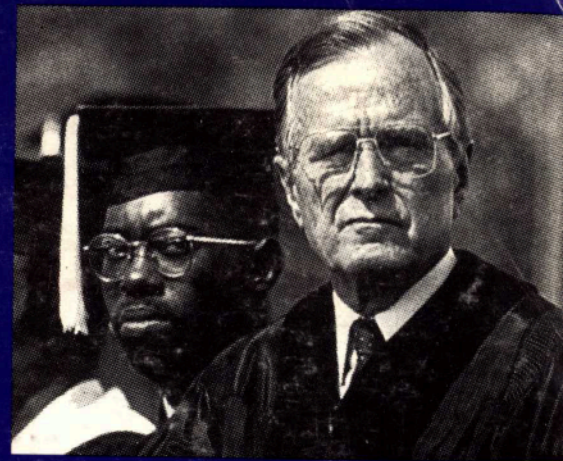

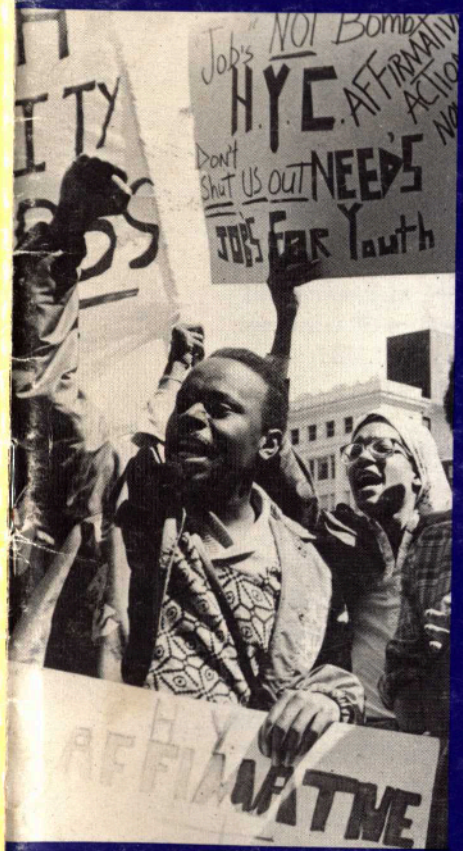

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by Lance Selfa and Alan Maass

A PAMPHLET FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

"Senator McCarthy. . . promised that he would be 'going into the education system' and would be exposing 'Communists and Communist thinkers'. . . a service that he claimed was one of 'trying to promote freedom of thought and expression in college.'"

—from Ellen W. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism & the Universities*[1]

A New War at Home

NO SOONER had President Bush announced the end of the war against Iraq than he declared a new war at home.

The battle wasn't to be fought with weapons, but with ideas. Its armies would be made up of right-wing ideologues, media pundits, university faculty, and students, not soldiers. The terrain was college campuses around the United States. The enemy was "political correctness."

"[P]olitical extremists roam the land, abusing the privilege of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race. . ." President Bush told graduating students at the University of Michigan in May 1991.

"The notion of 'political correctness' has ignited controversy across the land. Although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and sexism and hatred, it replaces old prejudices with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expressions off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits."

The president was joined by old allies. To conservative columnist George Will, the "low visibility, high intensity war" against the "politicization of higher education," led by National Endowment for the Humanities chair Lynne Cheney, is more important than the war against Iraq that was directed by her husband, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

". . . Lynne Cheney is secretary of domestic defense. The foreign adversaries her husband, Dick, must keep at bay are less dangerous, in the long run, than the domestic forces with which she must deal. Those forces are fighting against the conservation of the common culture that is the nation's social cement."[2]

In late 1990 and early 1991, cover stories with titles like "The P.C. Front," "The Victims' Revolution," "The Storm over the University," and "Thought Police" appeared in *Time, Atlantic, Newsweek, The New York Review of Books, The New Republic,* and a host of other publications. According to these reports, U.S. campuses have been overrun by PC "thought police," who are conducting a witch-hunt against people with whom they disagree: conservative students, right-wing lecturers, or professors who uphold the "canon" of Western literature and thought.

"PC is, strictly speaking, a totalitarian philosophy. No aspect of university life is too obscure to come under its scrutiny," said *Newsweek* in a December 1990 cover story.[3]

Once the crusade of far-right crackpots, the attack on political correctness has become a centerpiece in the conservative social agenda launched by Ronald Reagan—and carried out by a majority of Democrats and Republicans alike. From under its banner, Bush and his cronies have set their sights well beyond curriculum guidelines and literary disputes. The war on PC is being used to justify attacks on affirmative action programs for women and minorities, special programs for minority students, and the very right of existence for gay and lesbian student organizations.

If his Michigan speech is any indication, the attack on political correctness could become Bush's 1992 equivalent of the phony "Pledge of Allegiance" issue during the 1988 presidential campaign—a focal point for a conservative ideological assault on the rights of dissidents and the oppressed.

For this reason, it is imperative to understand what the anti-PC campaign really represents—and how we can fight back against the assault on "political correctness."

CHAPTER ONE

Behind the Attack on Politically Correct

THE ANTI-PC crusade came to prominence in 1989 when former Education Secretary William Bennett launched an attack on Stanford University for revising its freshman core reading list to include several works by non-European, non-American authors.

Bennett had little to fear. When all the dust cleared, Stanford's new "Culture, Ideas, and Values" program required that students read only *one* book from outside the Western "canon."

But as the mainstream media latched onto the subject, a sinister picture began to emerge: former 1960s radicals had infiltrated the ranks of university faculties and were threatening to teach books by non-whites and women in addition to the traditional canon of Western literature and thought. Worse yet, some of them refused to grant that the traditional canon was superior to the work they proposed to add.

Everywhere, conservatives leapt to the defense of Western civilization, denouncing the trend toward "multiculturalism." Irving Kristol, a right-wing contributor to the *Wall Street Journal,* wrote "multiculturalism is as much a 'war against the West' as Nazism and Stalinism ever were."[4]

As the alarm spread, right-wing ideologues widened the scope of the attack. In his *Illiberal Education,*[5] Dinesh D'Souza linked multiculturalism to affirmative action and women's and minority study programs developed during the 1970s—all part, he wrote, of a "victim's revolution."

The "victim's revolution," D'Souza argues, has produced a "grievance industry," which concocts allegations of racism and discrimination to hide the inability of women and minorities to keep up with college-level work.

Therefore, affirmative action programs should be eliminated, since minority students are "unqualified" to attend college—and are unhappy there anyway. Charges of institutional racism can be dismissed as products of the "grievance industry."

Political correctness, Irving Kristol summarized, is "a desperate—and surely self-defeating—strategy for coping with the educational deficiencies, and associated social pathologies, of young Blacks."[6]

Thus, the anti-PC crusade is about much more than curriculum. It has become an all-purpose front behind which the right-wing attacks any opinion which seems to get in the way of its attempt to turn back the clock.

The Real McCarthyism

Who are the "extremists" and "thought police" of which the anti-PC crusade warns?

People who believe that the works of Blacks, women and Third World writers should be studied in college courses. People who protest bigotry and discrimination on campuses. People who defend affirmative action programs for women and minorities. People who criticize conservative professors and students.

To the anti-PC watchdogs, bigots and sexists aren't to blame for inciting prejudice. On the contrary, the guilty are those who *oppose* racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry.

It's easy to see the hypocrisy of this sudden concern for tolerance and free speech on the part of Bush and his ilk.

When he demonized Willie Horton during the 1988 presidential campaign, Bush didn't seem worried about the consequences of "setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race. . ."

Nor apparently did Bush's attempt to ban flag burning or to bar government funding for "obscene" art count as declaring "certain topics off-limits, certain expressions off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits."

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld a "gag rule" which bans employees of federally funded health centers from mentioning abortion as an option available to pregnant women. Yet Bush, defender of "free speech," threatened to veto congressional efforts to overturn the restriction.

The campaign against PC is not about freedom of speech or expression. It is about *restriction*—restricting access to higher education and restricting liberal and radical ideas.

Rogue's Gallery: Who Are The Anti-PC Crusaders?

UNTIL THE mainstream media began to promote the anti-PC crusade, it generally had been the concern of right-wing ideologues like University of Chicago philosopher *Allan Bloom.*

One of the opening shots of the PC war, Bloom's 1987 best-seller, *The Closing of the American Mind,* blamed 1960s radical movements for undermining the quality of scholarship and university life.

Then in 1989, former Education Secretary *William Bennett* gave Bloom's ideas concrete expression when he attacked Stanford University for revising its core reading list for freshmen.

Suddenly, right-wing academics and pundits were vying with one another to condemn "multiculturalism" and to report tales of anti-imperialist and anti-European bias on campus.

"What we have witnessed is nothing less than the occupation of the center by a new academic establishment, the establishment of tenured radicals," concluded *Roger Kimball* in his 1990 book *Tenured Radicals,* an important milestone in the anti-PC campaign.[7]

The crusade against PC was not limited to conservatives. Nobel Prize-winning novelist *Saul Bellow* condemned Stanford's revision of the Western "canon" with the outrageous statement: "when the Zulus have a Tolstoy, we will read him."

Ex-Marxist historian *Eugene Genovese* called PC supporters "storm troopers" and "terrorists." "I fear that our conservative colleagues are today facing a new McCarthyism in some ways more effective and vicious than the old," Genovese wrote in *New Republic.*[8]

But it was *Dinesh D'Souza* who became the leading anti-PC crusader, with the publication of *Illiberal Education.* A former staffer at the right-wing *Dartmouth Review,* D'Souza passed the mid-1980s writing a biography of the far-right Rev. Jerry Falwell and as a domestic policy analyst in the Reagan White House. *Illiberal Education* has become the bible of the anti-PC campaign and D'Souza its leading spokesperson.

The anti-PC crusaders want to turn back the clock on campus to the 1950s, when universities were the idyllic playgrounds of the rich.

That means, first, limiting who gets in. Affirmative action and increased financial aid changed the character of the campus population in the 1960s and '70s—much larger numbers of people got the chance to go to college.

Enrollment grew from 2.3 million in 1960 to 6.1 million in 1970. The number of women in college almost tripled over the same period.[9] Between 1968 and 1976, the proportion of Blacks among college students rose by 60 percent, and the proportion of Hispanics almost doubled.[10]

Because of decreased financial aid and gutted affirmative action programs—both justified by the crusade against PC, this trend turned around in the 1980s.

Likewise, Bush and his fellow right-wingers want to return the universities to an era of stultifying conformity, when liberal ideas were unpopular and socialist ideas were witch-hunted off campus.

This is why the crusade against political correctness has become a central component of the right-wing's attack on all the significant reforms won by the radical movements of the 1960s and '70s.

While the Bush administration and its allies in the Democratic Congress repeal the reforms—affirmative action, abortion rights, anti-discrimination statutes for gays—they are also conducting a campaign against the *ideological* impact those movements had on American society.

The anti-PCers are out to counter the ideas of the 1960s movements. For instance, in an issue devoted to the "Feminist Assault on the University," the right-wing *Campus* magazine editorialized: "Feminism is at root an ideology that seeks fundamentally to restructure society. In other words, feminism is about politics and power rather than about traditional objects of academic inquiry."[11]

For *Campus*, which called feminism "the cornerstone of political correctness," and the rest of the anti-PC crusaders, the attack on PC is about "politics and power," too. It is about stamping out opinions which run counter to their aims.

Likewise with the attacks on "multiculturalism." The hysterical claim that multiculturalism is undermining U.S. social "cohesion" is an attempt to deny the fact that the U.S. *is* a class society whose class and racial inequalities become more obvious every day.

But the attack on PC not only provides a cover for bigots. It also helps to stigmatize any people who fight for the rights of minorities or women. It is an attempt to silence those who want to create a campus climate where bigotry is not tolerated.

This is the purpose of the campaign against political correctness. In its course, the anti-PC crusaders have conjured up a picture of today's campuses which bears no resemblance to reality.

CHAPTER TWO

Who Really Runs the University?

IF HALF of what the anti-PC campaigners claim were true, campuses would be hospitable places for women, Blacks, gays and lesbians, and radicals. But the reality is quite different.

While they denounce the tyranny of the radical "thought police," even right-wingers grant that universities became more *conservative* during the 1980s.

"There's a fundamental redirection going on," John Podhoretz, son of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, said in 1985. "The world is a hospitable place for conservative ideology today in a way it certainly wasn't in the 1970s. My friends and I no longer have to consider ourselves an embattled minority."[12]

Campus life reflects off-campus reality. And the reality of the Reagan-Bush era has been one of setbacks for women and minorities—and for workers and the poor generally. The same reverses were felt on campus.

This shouldn't be surprising. Universities are conservative institutions. They are really corporations, whose trustees are some of the wealthiest and most powerful people in the country.

In the words of Clark Kerr, president of the University of California at Berkeley when that campus exploded in the mid-1960s, universities are responsible for the "production, distribution, and consumption of 'knowledge.'. . . The university and segments of industry are becoming more alike."[13]

The purpose of these "corporations" is twofold: first, to produce a trained workforce to run the economy and society, and second, to produce ideas that help to justify the *status quo*.

Elite universities like the Ivy League schools also serve to pamper and train the future ruling class. For instance, a study of business executives showed that while only 29 percent of the corporate presidents surveyed went to an Ivy League college, 70 percent of their sons and daughters did so.[14]

For all the talk about multiculturalism undermining Western civilization, the fact is the bulk of courses at universities hardly challenge the *status quo*. Most economics courses teach that the capitalist market economy is the best and most efficient system. Most social science courses teach that class is an irrelevant and outmoded concept for describing American society.

But universities do not exist as islands. They are affected by economic and social changes outside their ivied walls. The movements of the 1960s for civil rights and Black power, women's liberation, and gay rights had an impact on universities as they did on the rest of society.

In some cases, students were among the most dynamic activists, both in the larger social movements and in battles specific to the university—for instance, the free speech fights for the rights of students to engage in political activism.

The 1960s movements forced universities to meet demands for affirmative action and Black and women's studies courses. Reforms like these helped to open up universities to underrepresented groups and to stimulate research on issues formerly overlooked.

U.S. society was riding the crest of the long post-World War II economic

boom during the 1960s and could afford to grant some reforms. But as the economy felt the onset of successive crises during the 1970s, America's rulers began to attack the new legislation in an effort to impose austerity measures.

Headmasters of War

WHO REALLY shapes curriculum and research at U.S. universities?

As the government cuts direct support for education, colleges have come to rely on funding of another sort: research grants from the Defense Department.

The murderously effective weaponry used during Operation Desert Storm was developed at U.S. universities by researchers who claimed there was no connection between their scientific research and the weapons produced on the basis of that work.

One of the most intensive Pentagon-backed research programs is the development of fuel-air explosives, which journalists reporting on the Gulf war called "near-nukes." The bombs create a cloud of highly combustible fuel that is detonated, simultaneously suffocating and incinerating its victims.[15]

Meanwhile, the Central Intelligence Agency continues to maintain its connections to campus.

Students at the Rochester Institute of Technology last year began a campaign to cut the links between the school and the CIA. The agency used RIT to recruit students and faculty, obtain strategic planning studies, and conduct research into technologies it considered "useful." The school's president is among those on the payroll.[16]

Beginning with the Carter budgets of the late 1970s and increasingly during the Reagan presidency, lawmakers began to carve away at public spending programs.

In few areas has the attack been sharper than in education. As college costs skyrocket and the government cuts grant and loan programs, workers and the poor increasingly are shut out of higher education.

Average tuition and fees for students at a four-year state university more than doubled between 1980 and 1988. At four-year private universities, average tuition and fees rose from $3,811 in 1980 to $8,770 in 1988.[17]

Meanwhile, the U.S. government cut financial aid programs. In 1949, the U.S. government spent 9 percent of its budget on education aid. Today, it spends 3 percent. In 1969, it funded 60,000 graduate fellowships. Today, it funds 12,000.[18]

Several funding programs have been virtually eliminated. For instance, the Department of Education spent $387 million on college housing loans in 1982. In 1989, it spent $20 million.

Working-class students have been particularly hard hit. In 1980, 32 percent of incoming freshmen received aid from the Pell grant program for low- and middle-income students. In 1989, only 16 percent of incoming freshman received Pell grant aid.

As well, in 1988, 27 percent of Pell grant aid was used at vocational schools, up from 11 percent in 1980, indicating that working-class students have been forced out of more expensive four-year universities.[19]

At the state and local levels, the cutbacks are even more severe. Tuition will increase by 20 percent at California state universities this year, forcing an estimated 26,000 students to drop out of the system.

In New York, Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo boosted tuition by 20 percent and cut financial aid for students in the City University of New York, a system which serves New York's working-class students.[20]

College students do face a threat today. However, that threat comes not from political correctness, but from a government whose educational policies have put college out of the financial reach of greater and greater numbers of students.

The Attack on Multiculturalism

At the same time as cutbacks take their toll on working-class students, the growing conservatism of the 1980s led to an attack on curriculum changes since the 1960s.

The right-wing backlash inside the classroom culminated in the hysteria about multiculturalism: the idea that radicals had taken over university faculties and were undermining the traditional "canon" of Western literature and thought.

But there is no truth to any of this. To begin with, only about 20 percent of students elected to take Western civilization courses between 1972 and 1984, according to the U.S. Department of Education.[21]

Until the trend began to turn around in 1987, the American Council on Education had noted a 20-year trend of increasing numbers of college freshmen majoring in business—hardly the work of Marxist radicals!

What's more, a recent survey of 35,000 faculty members at 392 U.S. colleges and universities showed that only a small minority of faculty members identify with radical left-wing politics.[22]

Most respondents to the Higher Education Research Institute survey (40 percent) identified themselves as "moderates." While 37 percent identified themselves as "liberals," 18 percent identified themselves as conservatives. Only 5 percent identified themselves as "far left."

Moreover, according to the HERI survey, few courses address issues of race and gender. While one-third of the respondents said they thought many university courses dealt with gender and race issues, only 11 percent said they assigned readings dealing with these questions.

A recent Modern Language Association survey of college English departments found that since 1980, only four departments have dropped a class in Shakespeare. During the same time, 15 departments have eliminated altogether any courses dealing with ethnic or Black literature.[23]

The picture of American campuses as bastions of intellectual tyranny ruled by radical professors is a figment of the PC bashers' imaginations.

CHAPTER THREE

The Attack on Affirmative Action

AS THE anti-PC crusaders try to impose their dominance on campus, the worst effects of their campaign are being felt by women and minorities. They increasingly face an atmosphere where bigotry and discrimination are openly tolerated.

Studies show that victims of physical assaults on campus are two to four times more likely to be gays or lesbians.[24]

A *Ms.* magazine survey of women on 32 college campuses showed that one in four women surveyed had been the victim of rape or attempted rape while on campus. 84 percent of those raped knew their attackers.[25]

But perhaps the most notorious evidence of increased bigotry has been the recent upsurge of racism on campus. In 1989, racist incidents, including physical assaults on minority students, were reported at 174 campuses.[26]

These included an assault on Black students by a white mob at the University of Massachusetts, the arson of a Black fraternity house at the University of Mississippi, a University of Wisconsin fraternity party that featured a "slave auction" of students in blackface, an assault on five Jewish students at Brooklyn College, the harassment of a Black Citadel cadet by white cadets dressed in Ku Klux Klan garb, and the appearance of leaflets at the University of Michigan which threatened to "get" Black women.

The upsurge in bigotry, particularly in racism, is the result of a general rightward shift in the political climate during the 1980s.

"We have a difference in terms of the national climate that existed in the 1960s," Dr. Reginald Wilson, senior scholar at the American Council on Education told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in 1989. "There was a positive climate; there was a positive sense of enforcement" of civil rights laws. That "positive climate" did not exist any longer, he said.[27]

Affirmative Action

At the center of the right-wing climate has been the attack on affirmative action.

Affirmative action programs were developed in response to demands made first by the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Activists argued that overturning discriminatory laws would not by itself eliminate discrimination. Because of a history of oppression, "affirmative" efforts were required.

Affirmative action required employers and schools to make special efforts to recruit and promote minorities and women. The success of their efforts would be judged by a quota system.

A small number of minorities and women, usually middle class, benefitted from affirmative action. If the citadels of power did not open wide to them, these few did gain access to better jobs and better schools.

But the combination of affirmative action programs and increasing financial aid had a large impact on college campuses. The number of Blacks enrolled in college increased five times between 1960 and 1975. The proportion of Blacks in college rose from 6 percent in 1968 to 9.6 percent in 1976.[28]

Like many of the 1960s reforms, though, affirmative action came under fire at the end of the 1970s. The Democratic Carter administration launched the attack. In the 1978 Bakke "reverse discrimination" case, the first successful legal effort to overturn affirmative action, Carter's Justice Department contributed a pro-Bakke *amicus* brief.

The Reagan administration did its best to gut affirmative action programs. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—headed for a time by Clarence Thomas, Bush's July 1991 appointment to the Supreme Court—lapsed into inactivity in the 1980s.

While Thomas chaired the EEOC, the percentage of cases for which the EEOC found "no cause" for anti-discrimination lawsuits increased from

Behind the Myths About Affirmative Action

THE RIGHT-wing attack on affirmative action relies on a number of distortions and outright lies:

MYTH: Less qualified minorities are displacing more qualified whites in the universities.

REALITY: A Carnegie Commission report showed that when the level of educational attainment and scholarly productivity is equal, Blacks still receive tenure and promotion at a lower rate than whites.

Whites hold 78 percent of PhDs, but occupy 87 percent of tenure-track faculty positions. In 1985, university faculties were 90 percent white and 72.5 percent male.[29]

MYTH: Elite universities lower admissions standards for racial minorities while subjecting whites to more rigorous standards.

REALITY: Minority students admitted to elite universities are held to strict standards. The same cannot be said for all whites.

The practice of admitting predominantly white "legacies"—sons and daughters of alumni—to elite universities, regardless of their credentials, is long-standing. The qualifications of these students are usually below the average of the student body as a whole.[30]

Why haven't affirmative action opponents raised complaints about the admission of legacies on qualifications other than "merit?" Perhaps it's because they defend the privileges represented by the "old-boy network" of alums and legacies.

MYTH: Admissions standards based on "objective" criteria like SAT scores are superior to "subjective" standards.

REALITY: Not only are SAT tests culturally biased against Blacks and other non-whites, but it is clear that SAT scores most clearly measure *class,* not academic skill. Within each racial group, students from wealthy families of all races score higher on the SAT than students from poorer families.[31]

"Objective" standards reflect existing class and racial inequalities in society. Nor do SAT scores have any value in predicting success at college.

MYTH: Affirmative action discriminates against whites in favor of less qualified Blacks and Latinos.

REALITY: The proportion of Blacks enrolled in college dropped more rapidly than the proportion of whites between 1976 and 1986.[32]

28.8 percent to 56.6 percent.[33]

A series of 1989 Supreme Court decisions virtually abolished affirmative action programs, leaving them open to challenge from whites for "reverse discrimination."

Bush is expected to make affirmative action "quotas" one of his main campaign issues in 1992. When affirmative action was first developed, quotas were universally accepted as the only way to judge whether the programs were having any effect. But now Republicans and Democrats alike denounce quotas.

"I'm going home and say I've voted for a bill that outlaws quotas," said Rep. William Ford (D-Mich.), after he cast his vote for the 1991 Democratic-backed civil rights bill. "And that's going to please many white voters in my district in suburban Detroit."[34]

The general attack on civil rights has had an effect on campus. Affirmative action programs in higher education are *weaker* today than they were a decade ago. The 1990 Education Department ruling restricting the ability of colleges to award financial aid to minority students will further erode minority presence at universities.

In April 1991, the Middle States Association of Colleges and Universities announced it would consider efforts to boost the numbers of women and minority faculty and students when accrediting schools. Education Secretary Lamar Alexander countered by threatening to deny Middle States government recognition.

It seems logical to assume that the attack on "quotas" has helped to legitimize racism on campus. But in the twisted logic of the anti-PCers, the victims are to blame for their own oppression.

Dinesh D'Souza, for instance, explains the upsurge of racism on campus as a backlash against the "victim's revolution." Any racist incident which occurs, he insists, can be explained as white frustration at the "special preference" enjoyed by minority students.

In the Winter 1991 issue of *The American Scholar,* D'Souza wrote: "When legitimate questions about equality and fairness are repressed by an atmosphere of accusation, intimidation and censorship, they tend to ferment under the surface and finally erupt in perverse, rebellious, and outrageous expression."[35]

This is little more than an apology for racism. It is also a lie.

The percentage of minority high school graduates attending college *dropped* during the 1980s.

In 1975, 32 percent of Black high school graduates enrolled in institutions of higher learning. In 1988, 28.1 percent of Black high school graduates did. During the same period, the white enrollment level *increased* from 32.4 percent to 38.1 percent.[36]

For Latinos, the decline is worse. About 35.8 percent of Latino high school graduates aged 18 to 24 were in college, according to the U.S. Department of Education. In 1985, 26.8 percent were in college.

In 1976, 40 percent of all low-income Black high school graduates attended college. In 1988, only 30 percent did, according to the American Council on Education. And an increasing number were attending two-year rather than four-year colleges. Cutbacks in financial aid—from federal, state and college sources—are the prime reason for the drop in minority enrollment.

These figures expose the PC-bashers' lie that affirmative action programs have led to systematic discrimination against whites. In fact, a study of the University of California at Berkeley, on whose admissions record many anti-PCers base their accusations, shows that Berkeley could be charged with discriminating *in favor of whites.*

Although only 15.8 percent of white 1988 California high school graduates were "academically eligible" for Berkeley, the 1988-89 freshmen class was 38.9 percent white. "Academically eligible" Blacks were no more likely to be admitted to the school than "academically eligible" whites.[37]

Overall, the proportion of Blacks enrolled in college fell more rapidly than the proportion of whites between 1976 and 1986.

The attack on affirmative action extends to the hiring and recruiting of minority and women professors as well. The anti-PC National Association of Scholars, formed in 1987, has launched a well-publicized crusade against affirmative action.

In 1990, the NAS chapter at the University of Wisconsin issued a statement condemning the university's plan to increase the number of minority faculty because "the plan proposes faculty hiring with an emphasis on ethnic origin and a lesser regard than in the past on merit. . .If quotas are desired, then the question of what groups should be included arises. Should we have a place for Americans of Slavic origin, Irish backgrounds, for Jews, for Muslims?"[38]

To listen to this sort of nonsense, one wouldn't know how low the percentage of minority and women faculty really is. In the mid-1980s, only 2.2 percent of full professors were Black and only 11.7 percent were women.[39] Between 1975 and 1985, the total percentage of Black faculty in the nation's colleges and universities *dropped* from 4.4 percent to 4.1 percent.

The nation's oldest college, Harvard University, has had only *two* tenured Black professors in more than three centuries!

What's more, a Carnegie Commission study showed that Black faculty members with the same degree attainment and scholarly productivity as their white counterparts are promoted and granted tenure at lower rates than whites.[40]

The facts don't matter for D'Souza and the rest of the PC bashers, however. Their concern about affirmative action is to provide a way for bigots to shift the blame for campus racism from its perpetrators onto its victims.

Rational Discourse

THE NATIONAL Association of Scholars is supposedly dedicated to "rational discourse as the foundation of academic life."

In reality, it is an association of conservative faculty members opposed to discussion of any idea outside the mainstream.

NAS founder, Duke University political scientist James David Barber, recently protested the number of books on Karl Marx in the Duke library by turning them on their sides on the library shelves. So much for "rational discourse."

CHAPTER FOUR

Who Are the Real Bigots?

THE CAMPAIGN against political correctness comes in the midst of the broadest attack yet on two of the chief gains of the 1960s: affirmative action and abortion.

A set of 1989 U.S. Supreme Court rulings severely limited affirmative action programs. And since the Court's 1989 *Webster* ruling, several states have passed laws virtually outlawing abortion.

As the Reagan and Bush administrations chopped away at rights won by the 1960s movements, their ideological supporters gained the confidence to challenge the ideas that those movements generated.

Thus, President Bush's and the Democrats' attacks on "quotas" help to legitimize racism against non-whites, on campus and off. Bush's support for the anti-abortion bigots legitimizes the attack on women's rights. Attacks by Sen. Jesse Helms on gay-oriented art and the overwhelming bipartisan support for mandatory HIV testing of health care workers increases the climate of intolerance toward gays.

While these attacks have helped to shift the general political climate to the right, ideological conservatives have been trying for a decade to make racism, sexism, and anti-gay bigotry "respectable" again on campus.

When the Reagan era began in 1981, a network of conservative student publications and organizations appeared on major campuses around the country. Sustained by grants and technical support from the Institute for Educational Affairs and other conservative foundations, the number of these publications reached 50 by 1989.

Each publication receives an average grant of $3,000 from the IEA. But IEA support counts for more than money. It puts campus right-wingers in contact with a larger orbit of conservative foundations, advertisers, and supporters—which reaches as high as the White House itself.

The right-wing journalists "sit around some pretty significant dinner tables," said Dartmouth College's public affairs director. "There are any number of U.S. senators and congressmen they can call and get their calls returned." Many of these conservative "activists" have made the easy transition from campus to positions at conservative Washington think-tanks and on congressional and White House staffs.[43]

The most notorious conservative student publication is the *Dartmouth Review,* founded in 1980 with Dinesh D'Souza as an editor. While D'Souza blames "political correctness" for creating an atmosphere of fear on campus, the revolting intrigues hatched by *Review* staffers were the real source of intimidation at Dartmouth. The *Review's* right-wing imitators elsewhere have struggled to match them.

In 1989, Francis McLaughlin, an editor for the *Observer* at Catholic Boston College, asked a student health service nurse if she could suggest an abortion clinic for his pregnant lover. The nurse gave him a list of local clinics which offered abortion among other services. McLaughlin used the confidential information in an article called "Does B.C. Stand for Birth Control?" designed to intimidate the health service into refusing to make abortion referrals.[44]

In 1991, University of Iowa *Campus Review* editor Jeffrey Renander led a counter-demonstration against the Iowa City gay and lesbian pride parade. Mocking the AIDS Quilt, which honors thousands who have died from the disease, Renander, exploiting the myth that gay men insert gerbils into their anuses for sexual stimulation, carried a "Gerbils' Quilt" to commemorate the "gerbils [who] die every year" from "certain sexual practices."[45]

These outrages are just a few examples of the sort of filth that so-called conservative "activists" and "journalists," using corporate and alumni money, have brought to U.S. campuses.

It should not be surprising that the attack on PC comes from ideologically committed conservatives who work through networks like IEA. The campaign against political correctness is the work not of disinterested students and scholars, but of a small core of right-wing ideologues.

If anyone wants to find the real "grievance industry" in higher education today, they need look no further than the acknowledgements pages in

"Distort D'Newsa" and the *Dartmouth Review*

DINESH D'SOUZA ought to know about campus bigotry. During his tenure as an editor of the right-wing *Dartmouth Review,* he helped to promote it.

In those years, between 1981 and 1983, the newspaper printed such quips as "genocide means never having to say you're sorry" and advertised a story on the Ku Klux Klan with a staged picture of a Black man hanging from a tree.

The *Review* campaigned to retain a Native American as Dartmouth's school mascot, despite calls by Native American and other students for its removal. The paper paid for a champagne and lobster dinner on the day campus anti-hunger activists had set aside to raise awareness of the issue of world hunger.[41]

In 1981, the *Review* published an article by D'Souza revealing the officers of the Dartmouth Gay Students Association and excerpts from confidential personal letters of GSA members. D'Souza's articles were based on documents stolen from the GSA files.

D'Souza once bragged of receiving the stolen documents. "Go ahead, let them sue. They can't prove anything," he told students at a 1982 luncheon for conservative journalists.[42]

After D'Souza left Dartmouth to pen a biography of the far-right Rev. Jerry Falwell and to work as a domestic policy analyst in the Reagan White House, his cohorts at the *Review* carried on in his tradition.

In 1986, people associated with the paper destroyed an anti-apartheid shanty town with baseball bats and sledgehammers. Two years later, two *Review* staffers physically attacked one of the few Black professors on the Dartmouth campus. The professor later resigned. In 1990, the *Review* printed a quotation from Adolph Hitler on a Jewish holiday.

The PC-bashers want us to believe that campus liberals and radicals are persecuting conservatives. No wonder *Review* opponents at Dartmouth nicknamed D'Souza "Distort D'Newsa."

the current crop of anti-PC books. The conservative John M. Olin Foundation provided money for Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind* and for Kimball's *Tenured Radicals.* D'Souza's *Illiberal Education* was written when the author was a fellow at the right-wing American Enterprise Institute.

With corporate money and the mass media at their disposal, the PC-bashers are hardly the embattled minority they pretend to be. They are well-paid, hired guns for those who hold power in Washington and corporate America.

That is why it is obscene that today's PC-bashers charge anti-racists and feminists with "McCarthyism."

The *real* McCarthyism was an all-out attempt by the U.S. government and institutions to enforce ideological conformity. Communists and those suspected of being communists were fired from their jobs, deported, and imprisoned for no other "crime" than their political beliefs. Thousands who refused to "name names" before congressional committees were cited for "contempt" and given prison sentences.

Yet we are supposed to believe that those who do nothing more than challenge the ideas of campus conservatives are guilty of "McCarthyism."

Today's supporters of affirmative action and women's rights—the so-called "McCarthyites of the left"—find their positions and jobs under attack by the U.S. government. The real McCarthyites had the full weight and power of the government behind them.

It is ironic, but not surprising, that many of the people who today warn us of PC "intellectual tyranny" were *supporters* of McCarthyism in the 1950s.

Irving Kristol, who today decries the "intimidation" that has silenced professors who have "controversial" views on race and gender (i.e. racists and sexists), said in 1952 that a communist opinion had "no right to be circulated outside of jail, and the state has every right to see that it is circulated nowhere else."[46]

Former Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin called right-wing attention to a Smithsonian Institution exhibition on "The West as America," which he called "perverse, historically inaccurate, [and] destructive." The exhibit simply pointed out the disparity between paintings of the period and the accepted history of the West, including the slaughter of American Indians. But Boorstin's criticisms led right-wing senators to threaten the Smithsonian's funding.[47]

Boorstin is an unlikely opponent of intellectual conformity. In the 1950s, he "named names" to the House Un-American Activities Committee. If today he worries about the "destructive" effects of an art exhibit, Boorstin had no qualms about the reputations and careers he helped to destroy three decades ago.

CHAPTER FIVE

Why Free Speech Is Not the Issue

AS PART of their case against political correctness, anti-PCers accuse their opposition of wanting to restrict "free speech." Like Bush, the anti-PC crusaders pose as defenders of the First Amendment against those who would restrict politically "incorrect" speech.

There is a disgusting irony in this charge. The reforms which anti-PCers attack were won in part by the student movement of the 1960s which fought its first battles over free speech.

The first major struggle in the wave of campus unrest that swept the United States in the 1960s was the 1964 free speech fight at the University of California at Berkeley. Activists forced the administration to overturn restrictions on students' right to be politically active on campus.

The activists who fight bigotry and discrimination on campus today belong to a radical tradition which has always fought to extend free speech.

In contrast, the right-wing crusaders against PC are for free speech only when it suits their purposes. In fact, the sponsor of legislation which would outlaw codes against hate speech at private universities is none other than U.S. Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), the notorious right-winger.

If Hyde was ever concerned with free speech, it is hard to tell from his record. He co-sponsored a constitutional amendment to ban flag-burning, endorsed the Helms Amendment to deny federal funding for "homoerotic" art, and supports the government regulation barring abortion counseling in federally funded health clinics.

Nor is his legislation comprehensive. The Hyde bill would exempt religious colleges and universities. Thus, student journalists at Georgetown and Marquette Universities who were disciplined for writing pro-choice editorials in 1989 could not have hoped for protection from Hyde.

"[Hyde] wants to protect the kind of speech you hate: racist, homophobic and sexist kinds of things. He represents the extreme right. . . the people who put the Reagan Revolution in place . . . and they're coming out for free speech for themselves," said Jay Miller, director of the Illinois chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.[48]

Miller is absolutely right—which makes it all the more shocking that the ACLU supports Hyde's bill and has actively campaigned for it alongside the right-winger.

Hyde is an enemy—not a defender—of free speech. His sudden concern for the First Amendment is part of a cynical attempt by right-wingers to gain sympathy for their cause. For all the anti-PC crusaders, the plea for "tolerance" is a demand that bigots be tolerated.

This was obvious in the furor over Brown University's expulsion of a student, Douglas Hann, for violating the university's "hate speech" code. Hann had tried to provoke a fight by shouting, "Fucking niggers. . . What are you, a faggot? . . . Fucking Jew." He told a Black woman, "My parents own your people."

Immediately after his expulsion, a number of right-wingers rallied behind Hann. In a forum held at Brown, Dart-

mouth professor Jeffrey Hart, a contributing editor of the conservative *National Review,* said: "We are in danger of creating virtuosos at taking offense. . . people who can find a pea of offense under eight mattresses. . ."[49]

Apparently, Blacks, Jews, and women should not have taken offense at Hann's ravings. But such disregard for the victims of racism and sexism is characteristic of Hart, who is the faculty adviser for the *Dartmouth Review.*

Hart and the anti-PCers don't really care about First Amendment rights. Their interest extends only so far as free speech can be used as a debating point in the effort to bash political correctness.

Are Speech Codes the Answer?

When Henry Hyde objects to university codes against hate speech, we should ask ourselves what he is up to. But a legitimate question remains: Are speech codes imposed by the university administration effective in stopping bigotry and discrimination on campus?

Activists are right to regard the administration with suspicion when it comes to incidents of bigotry or racism on campus. For every Douglas Hann case, university officials have refused to act on a dozen similar cases.

At Harvard University in 1991, a Virginia student hung a Confederate flag in her dorm as a show of "regional pride." Campus liberals and administrators defended her right to hang the flag. In contrast, when a Black woman protested by hanging in her window a banner reading "No racism" and displaying a swastika, she was badgered to remove it. The anti-racist banner came down. The Confederate flag remained.[50]

In 1990, Chicago's Loyola University refused to act on the demands of Black students and their supporters that a professor who called a Black student a "nigger" in class be fired. In fact, the administration attacked protesters for violating free speech and academic freedom.

But when a student tried to exhibit in a university gallery artwork protesting racism, Loyola refused to give its permission. So much for free speech and academic freedom.

These examples demonstrate why activists cannot rely on university administrators to confront bigotry and discrimination. Their speech codes are no solution.

First of all, speech codes leave untouched institutional sources of racism and bigotry, like declining minority enrollment, financial aid cutbacks, and discrimination against minority and women faculty. In some instances, university administrations facing movements against racism on campus have adopted speech codes as a maneuver to avoid more radical demands.

In any case, officials have proved as likely to use speech codes against activists as against bigots.

The University of Michigan, the subject of anti-PC attacks for its code against hate speech, has a stronger record of disciplining progressives than racists and anti-gay bigots.

In the last few years, the administration punished only one racist—a DJ who told racist jokes on the campus radio station. University authorities did not lift a finger when right-wingers destroyed shanty towns built by anti-apartheid and Palestinian activists. Yet they disciplined CIA protesters and student journalists who criticized Israel.[51]

No one should shed tears for the likes of Douglas Hann. But administrative solutions like expulsion do little to shift the climate on campus. For the problem isn't simply with individual racists or sexists, but with an entire institution—indeed, with an entire society—which is based on oppression and exploitation.

It's clear where people like Hyde and Bush stand. Their "concern" for free speech extends only to protecting racism and bigotry from those who would combat it.

University administrators should be regarded with equal suspicion. They are the ones responsible for the fact that there are so few minority students and faculty members.

Activists must rely on themselves. Creating a campus climate in which racist and sexist filth is not tolerated can be accomplished by a concerted and *collective* struggle—involving as many people as possible—against the bigots, whether they are students, faculty members, administrators, or off-campus speakers. A good place to begin such a fight is against the PC-bashers.

Quayle's Corner: The Benefits of a Higher Education

WHAT IF the anti-PC crusaders succeed in their quest to change college curriculum guidelines? Perhaps we'll have to read the collected wisdom of Dan Quayle:

EDUCATION
At a meeting of the United Negro College Fund: "What a waste it is to lose one's mind or not to have a mind. How true that is."

HISTORY
On the Holocaust: ". . . an obscene period in our nation's history."

"The Gulf war was a stirring victory for the forces of aggression."

PSYCHOLOGY
"We understand the importance of having the bondage between the parent and the child."

POLITICAL SCIENCE
"I believe we are on an irreversible trend toward more freedom and democracy, but that could change."

On the El Salvadoran military: "We expect them to work toward the elimination of human rights in accordance with the pursuit of justice."

On his first job in the consumer protection division of the Indiana attorney general's office: "It was just a job. It wasn't any special interest in consumer affairs. I needed a paycheck and the attorney general said that I would be best to go down there, because he knew I was anti-consumer."

GEOGRAPHY
"I love California. I grew up in Phoenix."

PHILOSOPHY
On the San Francisco earthquake: "The loss of life will be irreplaceable."

BIOLOGY
"I'm not, as they say, a potted plant."

LINGUISTICS
"I know you find it hard to believe I mispoke."

CHAPTER SIX

How Do We Fight Back?

IT SHOULD be clear that the attack on PC has nothing to do with upholding "merit" or "free speech." On the contrary, it is part of a well-orchestrated right-wing campaign against anyone who would try to change the prevailing conservative climate.

It is important to understand the politics behind the anti-PC campaign because, at its heart, it is part of a *political* conflict. The PC-bashers are conservative ideologues for whom PC is just another issue around which they can rally forces opposed to the rights of women, minorities, and the working class generally.

Therefore, it is necessary to wage a political fight against the anti-PC campaign. What does this mean?

It means challenging bigotry wherever it raises its head: in the classroom or outside of it. Neither professors, right-wing student journalists nor anyone else should be allowed to get away with bigotry. Demonstrations, teach-ins, rallies, and petition drives must be organized against them.

But in these activities, activists should challenge not only specific incidents of racism and bigotry, but also, importantly, the *ideas* that underlie them. Thus, it is necessary to advance and defend concrete demands for affirmative action for minorities and women or for the right of gays to defend themselves against gaybashing.

The-PC bashers' ideas must be shown for what they are: justifications for elitism, for sexism, for racism. The worst danger activists face is allowing the anti-PC crusaders to take the initiative.

For example, when PC-bashers attack affirmative action quotas, they are not concerned with "merit" and "objective standards." On the contrary, they believe that minority students don't belong in higher education.

D'Souza is quite clear about this: ". . . [Black] applicants who are academically prepared for Towson State are admitted to the University of Illinois; those qualified for Illinois are admitted to Williams; those who meet Williams' requirements are admitted to Yale."[52]

Anti-PC Harvard University professor Stephan Thernstrom explained minorities' demands for diversity as symptomatic of a "minority mismatch problem" which represents a "degree of frustration on the part of many minority students who have been placed through affirmative action in institutions where they are not doing very well on average."[53]

To challenge these ideas, activists must defend both affirmative action *and quotas.* Affirmative action programs are necessary because universities and other institutions have discriminated against women and minorities. Quotas are necessary because admissions, hiring and promotions decisions shouldn't be left in the hands of those who are responsible for discrimination in the first place.

The PC-bashers, with the national media at their disposal, have had it their way so far. It is time to turn the tables on them, to expose them for what they are, and, in that way, to capture the political initiative.

The Case for Socialism

The attack on political correctness cannot be understood outside the context of the right-wing's wider agenda.

Attacks on affirmative action and abortion rights are one part of this agenda. But it would be a mistake to see Blacks and women as Bush's only targets. The attacks on women and minorities are part of an overall *class* offensive which aims to bolster a society run by and for a tiny minority.

In targeting the gains of Blacks and women, Bush is trying to deflect attention from increasingly unpopular social and economic policies.

Is The Personal Political?: PC and Lifestyle Politics

IRONICALLY, THE phrase "politically correct" was first used by radicals as a sarcastic reference to those on the left whose political activity showed a greater concern for the form of oppression than its substance.

Called lifestyle politics, this trend developed during the disintegration of the 1960s social movements—the Black Power movement, the women's movement, and so on—as each faced stepped-up resistance and repression.

Disoriented activists turned from attacking oppression at its source to attacking the outward expressions of oppression.

Thus, as lifestyle politics gained wider currency, movement discussions began to center on concerns about language and lifestyle. For example, the term "handicapped" was denounced as oppressive in and of itself —those who wanted to fight oppression needed to use the phrase "specially abled."

Naturally, as the focus of the struggle against oppression blurred, the movements began to fragment. The women's movement, for instance, suffered from disastrous splits between lesbians and straights, Blacks and whites, and so on.

As two feminists described the outcome, activists left politics when "the dominant question [became] whether one was for or against heterosexuality.

"There were ritual rows at one national conference after another until the last one. . . in 1978—when the split was so bitter and painful that no one was prepared to organize another such gathering."[54]

In recent years, the anti-PC crusaders appropriated the term "politically correct" and redefined it to refer to any person or idea opposed to racism, bigotry, and sexism.

The right-wing is not worried about how best to fight oppression. They attack PC for completely different reasons, and activists should concede nothing to their assault.

Nevertheless, the lifestyle politics still current today, which gave rise to the "politically correct" phrase, weaken the movements to fight oppression, making the job of the anti-PC crusaders that much easier.

The focus of some activists on language rather than the real source of the problem presents right-wingers with a convenient cover for their real attack on the substance of 1960s reforms.

Above all, excessive concern with language and appearance led activists to focus on differences among themselves, splintering their forces. The concerns of lifestyle politics marked the disintegration of the 1960s social movements, not their strength.

He offers nothing to the mass of Americans except more of the same programs which have made the rich richer and the poor poorer. After a decade of Reaganomics, Bush cannot seriously claim, as Reagan did in 1980, that economic benefits will "trickle down" and that "a rising tide will lift all boats."

Instead, Bush and his supporters use "divide-and-rule" tactics to deflect anger at their policies onto scapegoats—from Saddam Hussein to immigrants to oppressed parts of the U.S. population.

This, for instance, is where the attack on "quotas" comes in. Bush denounces quotas to win white workers' support. He wants white workers to blame Blacks, Latinos, Asians or immigrants—rather than the bosses—for the decline in living standards. He wants white students to blame "unqualified" minorities for "taking their place" in college.

Attacks on "feminism" come from the same source. To keep women segregated in low-paying jobs, Bush and his supporters promote a 1950s version of the "traditional family" that helps to justify their opposition to policies—like abortion and child-care benefits—which would enable women to be full, participating members of the labor force.

Strengthening the ideology of the "traditional family" also intensifies the attack on those who don't follow "traditional family" norms: gays and lesbians. It is no surprise that the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force recorded more than 7,000 incidents a year of harassment and assaults on gays by the late 1980s.[55]

And the ideological offensive at home is mirrored by the attempt to overcome another legacy of the 1960s: the "Vietnam Syndrome," which challenged U.S. imperialism and its "right" to intervene at will in other countries.

Just as the attack on political correctness is linked to a wider right-wing agenda, the fight against the campus bigots ultimately must be part of a wider fight against the *source* of exploitation and oppression.

All the outrages for which the attack on PC helps to provide an ideological cover—from racism and discrimination to imperialist war—are by-products of a system, capitalism, which values profit over human need.

The social protests of the 1960s won important reforms within this system. But they did not transform the system itself.

Two consequences flowed from this. First, the most important legal reforms won by the 1960s movements tended to benefit a small minority of middle-class Blacks and women first.

So, for instance, while abortion was legalized in 1973, inadequate funding limited the access of poor and working-class women. The end of residential segregation was an important victory for Blacks—but most working-class Blacks had little choice about where to live.

Second, the reforms of the 1960s were won by mass struggles. As the movements waned in the mid-1970s, the ruling class was able to begin whittling away at the reforms.

The first concerted attacks on abortion rights and affirmative action were launched under Democratic President Carter and were extended by Reagan and now Bush—with the willing support of a Congress controlled by the Democratic Party.

The *class* character of these attacks is unambiguous. Since the 1970s, the U.S. has experienced a massive transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich.

Between 1982 and 1988, the number of millionaires increased from 600,000 to 1.5 million. Between 3 and 5 percent of national income was transferred from the majority of Americans to the richest 1 percent.

On the other hand, the economic condition of most Americans has worsened. Since 1973, real wages have declined by 17 percent. As more people were forced to work overtime or to moonlight to make ends meet, leisure time dropped from 26 to 16 hours per week between 1973 and 1987.

Income distribution is more unequal than at any time since 1947. As health costs skyrocket, 37 million Americans have no health insurance. And for the first time since the 1930s, millions of homeless people sleep in the streets.[56]

This long-term decline in the quality of life in the U.S. is not lost on American workers. And there is a growing sense that the policies of Reagan, Bush, and the Democratic congress have made all of these problems worse.

Even in the wake of the Gulf war, when huge majorities indicated support for Bush's foreign policy, only 42 percent surveyed in a *New York Times*/CBS poll endorsed his domestic policies. Only 46 percent said they trusted the government.

In another survey, taken during the October 1990 crisis over the federal budget, four out of five Americans agreed that the government works for the benefit of the rich and not "for people like me."

What is needed today is to translate this widespread sentiment into an active opposition.

As the movement of thousands against the Gulf war showed, an increasing number of people will not be silenced. Many more have and will speak out against police brutality, attacks on abortion rights, or gaybashing.

We face a difficult fight to preserve and extend reforms won during the 1960s. But to guarantee change, these individual battles must be part of a larger struggle against the source of exploitation and oppression—the capitalist system itself.

It is here that the whole range of socialist politics becomes crucial. Bush and his supporters have a set of politics to direct their offensive against minorities and the working class generally. The revolutionary Marxist tradition offers a set of politics for our side.

Genuine socialist ideas can give a lead to individual battles we fight here as well as explain the tremendous struggles taking place around the world—from the USSR and Eastern Europe to the Middle East.

The reason the small core of anti-PC crusaders have the influence they do is their connection to those who rule over the capitalist system.

So long as the source of their power is untouched, they will be able to launch an offensive against any threat to their rule. The fight against racism and bigotry and for equality and justice will only be won when the source of their power is eliminated.

The system they rule over must be overthrown and replaced by a socialist system which strives to meet the needs of the whole of society. The need for a socialist alternative to the crisis-ridden "new world order" is more important than ever.

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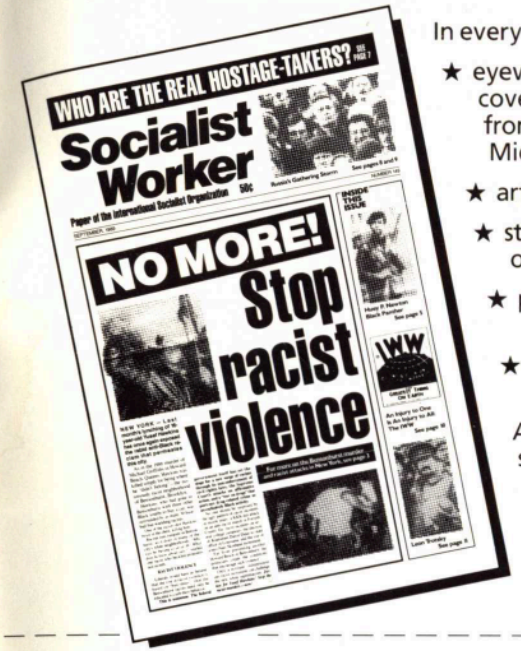

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